

## Message Text

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R 161503Z SEP 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1873

INFO USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 15566

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR GW GE WB

SUBJECT: FRG/GDR RELATIONS

BEGIN SUMMARY. OFFICERS OF THE INNER-GERMAN MINISTRY ARE GUARDEDLY OPTIMISTIC THAT CONTINUED LIMITED PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE IN BILATERAL FRG-GDR RELATIONS. THEY DO NOT LOOK UPON THE RECENT AGREEMENTS ON MINOR IMPROVEMENTS IN VISITS ARRANGEMENTS AS DESIGNED BY THE GDR TO HELP THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN THE FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS. ONE OFFICIAL IS OF THE VIEW THAT ANY SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENTS IN INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS WILL HAVE TO WAIT UNTIL AFTER US ELECTIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. DURING HIS VISIT TO BONN, DEPUTY CHIEF OF MISSION POLANSKY FROM EMBASSY BERLIN CALLED ON JUERGEN WEICHERT, CHIEF OF THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE INNER-GERMAN AFFAIRS MINISTRY; STATE SECRETARY HEINZ MORGENSTERN OF THE INNER-GERMAN AFFAIRS MINISTRY; AND WILHELM LUECKING, CHIEF OF THE BERLIN AND ALL GERMAN

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AFFAIRS OFFICE OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY.

2. WEICHERT EXPRESSED CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM ABOUT THE NEAR-TERM PROSPECTS FOR IMPROVEMENT IN FRG/GDR RELATIONS. GENERALLY SPEAKING, WEICHERT ANTICIPATES NO LARGE STEPS AND CONFIRMED THAT THE TWO LEGAL POSITIONS ON VARIOUS PENDING MATTERS ARE FAR APART. ON THE OTHER HAND, WEICHERT BELIEVED THAT ECONOMIC ISSUES, ESPECIALLY THE GDR'S INTEREST IN ACQUIRING HARD CURRENCY, WILL LEAD TO CLOSER RELATIONS. WEICHERT ALSO BELIEVES THAT EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN GENERAL WILL REMAIN DORMANT UNTIL AFTER THE US ELECTIONS AND THAT THIS PAUSE WILL ALSO BE FELT IN FRG/GDR RELATIONS.

3. LIST OF 25. SPECIFICALLY, WEICHERT SAID THAT THE FRG HAD GIVEN THE GDR A LIST OF EXAMPLES OF "THINGS THAT COULD BE DONE" IN JULY. WEICHERT DID NOT CONFIRM THAT THE LIST CONTAINED 25 EXAMPLES. "A FEW DAYS AGO" (AFTER AUGUST 13) THE GDR (DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER NIER) TOOK THE INITIATIVE TO REPLY POSITIVELY ON A FEW OF THE POINTS (BONN 15395 AND USBER 1930). WEICHERT DISMISSED ANY INTENT ON THE PART OF THE GDR TO HELP THE COALITION. HE SAID RATHER THAT THE PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE DESIGNED TO MAINTAIN MOMENTUM.

4. MORGENSTERN ALSO WAS OF THE OPINION THAT GDR AGREEMENT ON EIGHT ITEMS ON LIST OF 25 WAS NOT INTENDED AS AN ELECTION GIFT TO THE FRG COALITION GOVERNMENT. HE MAINTAINED THAT IF THE LEADERSHIP HAD SERIOUSLY WANTED TO HELP THE COALITION, THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO BORDER INCIDENTS IN JULY AND AUGUST. LIKE WEICHERT, MORGENSTERN SEEMED TO THINK THE SMALL STEPS RECENTLY TAKEN BY THE GDR WERE PRIMARILY DESIGNED TO CONTINUE A SENSE OF PROGRESS IN FRG-GDR RELATIONS.

5. BORDER INCIDENTS AND BERLIN. WEICHERT FORESAW NO NEGOTIATIONS OR PROGRESS WHATSOEVER ON THE QUESTIONS OF EITHER BORDER INCIDENTS OR BERLIN. HE CLAIMED THAT THE USSR DETERMINES BERLIN POLICY AND THAT THE GDR DOES NOT TAKE INITIATIVES IN THAT FIELD. LUECKING ALSO  
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DISCUSSED THE GDR-SOVIET DECISION-MAKING RELATIONSHIP AND TENDED TO SEE A LARGER ROLE FOR THE GDR THAN DID WEICHERT. IN LUECKING'S VIEW GDR LEVERAGE IS SUFFICIENT TO OBTAIN SOVIET APPROVAL OF CERTAIN ACTIONS VIS-A-VIS THE FRG AND BERLIN. WITH REGARD TO THE AUGUST 13 TRANSIT STOPPAGES, FOR EXAMPLE, LUECKING IMPLIED THAT THE DECISION TO TURN BACK TRAVELERS WAS TAKEN BY THE GDR BUT THAT THE USSR

EXERTED ENOUGH PRESSURE TO PREVENT THE EAST GERMANS  
FROM CARRYING THE MATTER TOO FAR.

6. PENDING NEGOTIATIONS. WEICHERT ANTICIPATES  
PROGRESS AND PERHAPS AGREEMENT IN THE NEAR FUTURE  
ON NON-COMMERCIAL PAYMENTS. HE ALSO CONFIRMED THAT THE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 15566

FRG IS INTERESTED IN CONCLUDING THE SAME THREE  
AGREEMENTS WITH THE GDR THAT IT IS NEGOTIATING  
WITH THE SOVIET UNION: LEGAL ASSISTANCE, CULTURAL  
EXCHANGE, AND SCIENTIFIC/TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION.  
WEICHERT DOES NOT BELIEVE THESE AGREEMENTS CAN BE  
CONCLUDED UNTIL THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION  
HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFULLY RESOLVED. NEVERTHELESS, THE  
FRG IS ATTEMPTING TO FIND WAYS OF INCREASING  
COOPERATION IN THESE THREE FIELDS ON A STEP-BY-STEP  
BASIS EVEN WITHOUT THESE AGREEMENTS.

7. THE QA. WHEN POLANSKY ASKED WEICHERT IF HE BELIEVED THAT SOVIETS WANT TO RENEGOTIATE THE QA, WEICHERT REPLIED BY ASKING WHY THE SOVIETS ARE MAKING A LONG LIST OF COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE FUNCTIONING OF THE QA. HE THOUGHT IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT THE SOVIETS ARE INTERESTED IN RENEGOTIATION, BUT HE IS PUZZLED OVER WHAT THE SOVIETS HOPE TO ACHIEVE. THE SOVIETS  
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WANT CONCESSIONS FROM THE FRG AND WEICHERT BELIEVES THEY WOULD COME DIRECTLY TO THE FRG FOR THEM RATHER THAN GOING THROUGH THE ALLIES. WHEN ASKED THE SAME QUESTION, LUECKING'S RESPONSE WAS THAT THE RECENT STATEMENTS BY FALIN AND ABRASIMOV WERE MEANT TO INDICATE THAT THE SOVIETS WERE NOT PRESSING FOR CONSULTATIONS OR NEGOTIATIONS ON THE QA. HE THOUGHT THE SOVIETS WERE FOLLOWING A POLICY WHICH MIGHT IN FACT EVENTUALLY CULMINATE IN QUADRIPARTITE CONSULTATIONS EVEN IF THEY DID NOT HAVE THAT SPECIFICALLY IN MIND AT THE MOMENT AS THE AIM OF THEIR POLICY.

8. GDR LEADERSHIP. MORGENSTERN EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT IN ANY SINGLE "UNITED PARTY" THERE ARE DIFFERING VIEWPOINTS AND THAT THE GDR LEADERSHIP ALSO HAS ITS HAWKS AND DOVES. HE ADMITTED THAT IT IS DIFFICULT TO COME BY INFORMATION ON THE SUBJECT AND HE WOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO LIST THE MEMBERS OF THE VARIOUS FACTIONS, OTHER THAN TO SUGGEST THAT HONECKER MIGHT BE ON THE DOVISH SIDE AND THAT THE HAWKS WERE MOSTLY OFFICIALS WHO HAD ONLY PARTY ROLES SUCH AS AXEN. ASKED HOW THESE DIFFERING VIEWPOINTS WERE MANIFESTED, MORGENSTERN MENTIONED ECONOMIC DECISION-MAKING AS WELL AS DEALINGS WITH THE FRG. HE REFERRED TO THE DIFFERING VIEWPOINTS ON HOW TO COPE WITH THE GROWING FLOW OF VISITORS FROM THE WEST AND OTHER CONTACTS VERSUS THE NEED FOR INCREASED ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FROM THE WEST.  
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